

Zagori

THE SOLIDARITY OF THE FAMILY

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It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the 596
 Sarakatsani have no notions about the blood or spirit of an 577
 unavenged victim turning upon the kinsmen who have failed 627
 in their duties. For this would be an uncomfortable belief to 826
 accommodate where successful vengeance killing is contingent 761
 on a number of circumstances. This is interesting because, as
 we have already seen, blood is the material medium of kinship
 and its values. In other related contexts Sarakatsani clearly
 believe that blood has mysterious and intelligent powers. A
 horse standing outside a house when its master was murdered
 'dropped dead from the blood' (έσκασε από το αίμα). A shep-
 herd who killed a woman 'was seized by the blood' (τόν έπιασε
 το αίμα). He was paralysed before his victim until the husband
 returned to kill him. For this was an evil and unnatural deed
 where supernatural sanctions rightly operated. Sarakatsani will
 even say that the avenging brother's blood gives him the
 courage to reclaim 'his own blood' from the killer. But sugges-
 tions that a dead man might be personally angry and dangerous
 if he is not avenged are met with amused and pragmatic dis-
 belief. If care is taken over a man's burial so that the Devil (M5)
 cannot use him as a 'βρυκόλακας' (phantom), a dead man is
 simply dead. Vengeance, then, is a duty owed to the honour of
 the family and not to the memory of a particular individual.
 And honour depends on the strength, confidence, and self-
 regard of living men, not on any mysterious or spiritual powers.

The problems which the duty of vengeance killing presents 596
 to a family sometimes have an element of paradox. For in 577
 prosecuting vengeance and defending its honour a family 627
 almost inevitably deprives itself of one of its men. This may
 represent a dangerous weakening of its strength; and strength,
 it may be remembered, is the basis of honour. In the very act
 of defending one's honour one may in fact be jeopardizing it.
 The violator is always in mortal danger immediately after the
 deed, when grief and humiliation are fresh. But if he survives
 the first two years unscathed the victim's family begin to con-
 sider the situation in a more calculating and unemotional
 fashion. It then becomes a question rather of whether there are
 reasonable grounds, of the kind we have discussed, for 'not'
 prosecuting vengeance. This depends entirely on how the com- 624
 munity views their predicament. If all the brothers of the victim
 are married when the killer returns from prison, the consensus

SPIRITUAL KINSHIP

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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent. 608
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The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it. 851
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In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (vouvos) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The 851
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GOD AND SIN

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between brothers; wanton cruelty to, or neglect of, the family's 783
horses, sheep or goats.

The third category of sins are those which exist in the field 783
of general morality in the behaviour of one man towards 609
another. A man feels little obligation to discipline himself in
his conduct towards an unrelated person, but there are limits
which ought not to be transgressed, and generally speaking
these limits are related to the consequences that immoderate
behaviour would have for the victim's family. To exploit a
very poor man, or refuse charity to a beggar, is sinful. To
slander the name of an unmarried girl is a sin. In these in-
stances there enters a hint of the idea of *hubris*, an arrogance
of act, or thought, overstepping bounds set by God and in-
volving wrongdoing to others which threatens the moral or
physical existence of a family and is not excusable on grounds
of self-interest.

The essence of sin is that, in one form or another, it is wilful 783
rebellion against God and His institutions. And for such an 784
act of personal sin a man may expect to be punished by God
through sickness, death, or some catastrophe that leads his
family into want. Catastrophe or misfortune is by no means
always explained as the punishment of God, but where a man
is guilty of a known sin, any misfortune which befalls him, or
another member of his immediate family, will certainly be
recognized as divine punishment. As I have already suggested,
Sarakatsani are skilled in listing the sins of others. The sufferer [754]
and his kin, on the other hand, will more often ascribe their [777]
ill luck not to God's wrath, but to the evil eye, a manifestation
of other men's sinful and envious natures.

It must be stressed that the Sarakatsani visualize the punish- 783
ment of God as being realized essentially in this world either 784
against themselves, or their children. Hell is a place of vaporous 772
darkness where sinful men suffer in cauldrons of pitch; Para- 775 ●
dise is a plain of well-watered grass covered with spring flowers.
These conceptions exist, yet seem to make little impression. If
an evil man dies unscathed, men are not content with thoughts
of the torments he may suffer in Hell; they concentrate their
attention on the misfortunes which will certainly overtake
his children in this world. The wages of sin is death. But it 783
is not the spiritual death which follows physical death which 784
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THE DEVIL

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who chooses the sin, and sets the scene of temptation in the knowledge that his victory is assured. But the sin by which the man is corrupted is the work of the Devil. Through these modes of thought the Sarakatsani are able to appreciate themselves as an essentially noble and God-fearing community struggling under the limitations of the human condition which, so far as the physical and political environment is concerned, they are able to represent as being, in their case, peculiarly severe.

The definitive loss of the soul to the Devil is the basis of the appearance of 'βρυκόλακες', the bodies of dead men and women which return from the grave in a hideous distended form often to terrify members of their own family. They are persons whose lives were corrupted in sin, committed suicide, drowned or were unbaptized; or persons whose bodies were not guarded by their kinsmen in the period between death and burial, or whose bodies, although guarded, were leaped over by a cat. In these various ways, and particularly in the first, the soul is lost to the Devil. Instead of departing through the mouth (as some imagine it in the form of a small bird) and rising to God, it passes through the anus to the Devil. And since the body and soul, whatever the internal tension between them, form a unity, the body also falls into the power of the Devil, remains undissolved in the earth, and possessed by his spirit emerges from its grave to mock at the sacred institutions of family life by attacking or terrifying those to whom it owed, in life, the greatest obligations.

But, in a sense, the envy of men expressed in the belief of the evil eye is the great triumph of the Devil; firstly, because it implies a whole complex of vices including enmity, greed, and deceit; and secondly, because without the Devil requiring to set any particular temptations almost all Sarakatsani, in their pursuit of the elusive and competitive ends of prestige with its mixture of spiritual and material values, are necessarily involved in this form of sin. They succeed in avoiding individual guilt for it, but they cannot deny their collective responsibility, nor can they ignore the existence of the barrier which it represents between themselves and God. The witchcraft or sorcery of the evil eye (βασκανία) is recognized by the Church as one of the Devil's weapons; and there are prayers which may be read over the victim by the priest. By the Sarakatsani

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
 522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
 831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting
 and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered
 with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
 ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was dis-
 [533] covered at last, and during a final mime of tri-
 umphant bawdiness, the entire company danced
 around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the
 dancers alternately banging their noses and their
 rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I
 would give much to observe.

851 THE feast of St. George is the most propitious
 553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
 [799] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
 [775] tized. But they are always named at once, and
 should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism
 on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
 163 vampires. The average family varies between
 848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
 [649] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are un-
 known, and should a case of bastardy ever crop
 up, death to all concerned is the only remedy.
 This is not only for reasons of morality, for these
 ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
 [525] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should
 one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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775 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

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114 A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsani embraces, a blade plays a

1352 still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

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575 The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened carapace of clothing which encases them. The

764 author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsanissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she marries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and un-aneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tselingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

764 travel with their *nekrallaxia*, or death change — a
 [96] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is
 laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from
 the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with
 his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen
 watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat,
 or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body
 is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair
 cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier
 of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks
 a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear
 of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of
 fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without
 a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes.
 Before the earth covers the body, his hands and
 feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that
 he may move more freely "to where he is going."
 If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him;
 but a shepherd who died in the mountains was
 buried below a rock or on the top of a slope,
 whence he could look down on his flocks, should
 they return another year. His crook was planted
 nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her

[90] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was
 buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
 [76] relations went to dig her up again, after three,
 [27] five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a
 box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these
 trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed

● [22] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the
 skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this
 means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
 [29] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exor-
 cism, and the body is left for another year to loosen
 up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years,
 and to emphasize this sad period, women would
 sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The
 two traditional hours of the day for the renewal
 of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before
 daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

000 A All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a
 long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and
 Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still,
 early milestones on a flowery path that meanders
 through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard
 to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of
 the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as
 irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image
 that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.
 181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little
 interest. But those of the mountains are active,
 lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that
 strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

[p.85-A]

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derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become easier and more profitable.

596 These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
474 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
434 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
233 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony.
However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially,
to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a
certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type
of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
(126) examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story
which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
474 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his
wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it
was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of
the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his
mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
(189) a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
(431) handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at
rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

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(114) animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes
3. Ibid., A.I. p. ~~xxx~~. --A statement that our own observations
have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male
one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The
deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial.
(715) And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God,
(262) "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of
wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in
the ground.

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(825) Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as
(128) an amulet.

(825) If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because
(128) we intend to discuss them all together.

842 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the
821 Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personify-
823 ing the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility.
825 All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible
831 in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)
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4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the
bibliography. //previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortality;
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5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 225.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its
skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

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796 takes place the day before (Friday), and the other on the holiday itself. On Friday, at twilight, the boys of each /327/ Tseligato form a group. One of them is chosen to play the role of the saint. He stretches out on the ground, his eyes closed, his hands crossed on his chest; he represents the dead saint. His companions then life him up and start making the rounds of all the huts. They stop in front of each door, deposit "Saint Lazarus" on the ground, and sadly sing of his death. When the tour of the huts is finished, the group disbands. The next morning the boys gather anew and go to the fields to gather flowers. 796 Afterwards they make a figurine out of pieces of wood, dress it like (522) an infant and cover it with the gathered flowers. This figurine represents the infant Lazarus reborn. The boys recommence their tour of the huts, (533) singing joyous tunes, rejoicing in his resurrection; the women give them sweets and eggs. The symbolism of this scene is identical with that of the "pure Monday" dance. The death and resurrection of Saint Lazarus, "the friend of the Lord," here take on the meaning of the periodic regeneration of nature; they are therefore put at the service of fertility. The simulated death of the young man, his rebirth in the form of an infant, the gathered flowers, the eggs which contain life, etc., leave no doubt about the accuracy of this interpretation. (1)

1. E. A. PEDRASSOY: *Antique Acropolis*, p. 148, note 1. — F. MEYER: *Thesaurus* *Byzant.*, p. 148.

(791)

--It is a custom found almost everywhere in Greece.

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Maundy Thursday is a day of extreme importance in the popular religion of Greece, on the one hand, because in church "the twelve gospels" are read, recounting the arrest, the judgment and the crucifixion of the Lord, and on the other hand, on account of the belief "that the souls of the dead, freed by the descent of Christ into hell, rise up on Maundy

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Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which must be blessed--tsandilon, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar, (hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead," is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandiles) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ; during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

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765 Obviously, all these manifestations are social and not religious.
153 They are based on the social control of feelings, the regulation of
626 their intensity and their externalization. /337/ A widow's mourning
[562] is the external mark of her status, since, as we have said, the status
of the woman must always be apparent. And if she mourns for life it
is because the loss of her husband means for her, and in the scale of
Sarakatsani social values, an inestimable loss which she must forever
regret.

775 MAN IN THE BEYOND.

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.--GHOSTS.

The Sarakatsani believe that after death man continues to live,
but an existence as different from earthly life as from that assumed by
Christianity.

The soul lives spiritually, but also anthropomorphically. And the
dead person may become a ghost. The idea of resurrection exists. But
for the Sarakatsani the cycle of life complies more with non-Christian
beliefs.

725 On the mouth of the deceased a silver coin or a trinket is placed, so
that he has the wherewithal to pay his passage to Hades--a reminiscence
of the ancient practice of paying Charon to cross the Styx. If he does
not have the means of paying, he will be destined for the nether regions.

Next to the corpse, and again on the basis of non-Christian
beliefs, are placed cigarettes, apples, oranges, candy, combs, small
pocket mirrors, etc. These objects will serve for his own use in the beyond.
The fruits are gifts for those who died before him, and the donors add
oral messages or messages written on pieces of paper. However, if the
deceased is old, these objects are not placed on his deathbed. Next to
men, their shepherd's crook is placed. Next to women, their distaff.

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Flowers are laid on the corpse.

One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so that he will not get up." (14)

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14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals. Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

(152) The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338/ the sadness of the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. The actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may

(176) take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take (825) possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

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[825] incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate of representation which determines magic action.

775 The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life" since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall, [596] however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the extended family (pp. 174-175).

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775 These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity, according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in [641] Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either individually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We [182] believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for 775 ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Sarakatsani, 764 as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables him to dominate the dark forces.

775 /339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be dealt with later.

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PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

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776 For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the (171) Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

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776 Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior 779 and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

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(172) During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

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783 When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

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771 The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, 761 but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

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202 If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

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postulate of representation.

Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be loitering about in the vicinity. (16)

16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

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The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

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After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat, and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one chants anew the mirololo which emphasize distress at departure from this world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/341 cont./

769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
776 psychoudia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute
the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the
forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively
and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to
that of men.

(178) Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-
Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas,
but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoudia);
woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoudia);
resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are
harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life.
The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these
acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of
representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to
disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

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Every society, and therefore the society of our herders, has an anthropology of its own, a collective work and consequently a social phenomenon which, though not entirely conscious, nevertheless exists. It is expressed in anthropological ideas, in the strict sense, in the socio-cultural molding of individuals, in the socially accepted latitude that permits a man to develop his initiative, in the organization, in the broad sense, of social life conceived as an instrument from which the individual will benefit, finally in the content and extent of the value that man represents for it.

/408/ We believe that these points will suffice for us to accomplish our task. And we hope that knowledge of the action will enable us, in addition, to lift the mask behind which the face of the actor is hidden.

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Sarakatsani anthropological ideas are familiar to us. Man, like the grain, grows, blossoms, begets descendants and dies. Born from the earth, he returns to the earth from whence spring powerful creative forces so that a new life may see the light. Death is for him a natural phenomenon that must be faced with courage. But he believes in the life hereafter described by Christianity, in which the soul may enjoy eternal rest if his life has conformed to the Christian prescription and if, in addition, the living faithfully follow on his behalf both Christian and pre-Christian funeral customs and usages. All these ideas also bear profound traces of a religious syncretism which we need not discuss again.

Man is not completely defenseless before nature and the supernatural. Aside from technology, he is acquainted with ways of exerting his influence on them so that both will consent to favor to him. Nevertheless, man trembles before nature and the supernatural because of his weakness, without however sinking into despair, discouragement or inaction. On the contrary,